1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

514

241 practice makes it dangerous to eat raw vegetables, and most vegetables
252 are cooked before eating.

365 ## VILLAGE COMMUNICATION FACILITIES

The Hsin Hsing area has had electricity since the early 1930's. When electricity first came to Hsin Hsing village, almost all of the villagers immediately took advantage of the opportunity. According to the older villagers, the electric company paid for the installation of poles and other parts, but many villagers found the cost of the electricity itself prohibitive and were forced to discontinue service. Later, some of the electric poles not in use were removed from parts of the village.

Today, well over half of the village households again have electricity, although in most cases there is a bare minimum of one or sometimes two lights to a household. The majority pay a small amount each month to the electric company, for which they are allowed one electric outlet or light; the electricity only comes on at night. But many of the villagers, by doing a little electrical work themselves, are able to manage more than one outlet. They are especially active during times of festivities when lights are needed in more than one room at a time. When most of the villagers engage in this kind of improvisation, the fuses for the whole village's electric supply often burn out, and the village may be left in darkness for a day or two or sometimes for as long as a week until the electric company is notified or until some young man replaces the fuses. At other times only a minimum of light is needed, and usually a single light is strung in the doorway between two rooms, for example, between the ancestral-worship room (*kung t'ing*) and the bedroom or kitchen, or wherever the family happens to be at the time.

207 There are four radios in the village, but not all of them are in working order at any one time. Two of them were obtained through public or government agencies; the village mayor was given one by the Hsiang Public Office, and the elected head of the Farmers' Association village unit received one from the association. Small groups of villagers often listen to these radios in the evening. The other two instruments in Hsin Hsing are privately owned. The villagers' favorite programs are the frequent broadcasts of the Taiwanese opera.

205 The mail system in Taiwan is quick and efficient, and the village has a daily mail delivery by a regular postman. Most of the mail coming into the village is from family members who have gone to such
• 204 places as Taipei to work or from village men who are away on military service. A few newspapers come into the village each day through the mail. Like the radios, two newspapers are sent free of charge by the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

government to the village officials. Copies of *Harvest Magazine*, an agricultural magazine published by the JCRR, are received monthly by several village subscribers.

A bus runs past the village almost every hour during the daytime. The bus travels between Lukang and Chi Hu, and at both places connections can be made with buses going to various cities where there are trains to other parts of Taiwan. Most of these transportation facilities have been available since Japanese times, although they were not then used as frequently as they are today. Now that so many villagers work and live in Taipei, individuals and their families move rather regularly between the village and this city. Villagers in the area have increased their mobility a great deal during the last decade, and today, most villagers, including older people and adolescents, have travelled at least once to Taipei.

Within the general village area the most important means of transportation is the bicycle. Almost every village family owns at least one bicycle and a few are two-bicycle families. For the villagers the bicycle is an extremely practical machine. It can transport several people at a time to the fields and can also carry small animals and produce to market. The people in the Hsin Hsing area had some bicycles during Japanese times, but they were expensive and thus fell into the luxury class. At that time most things were still carried by hand. Since the restoration of Chinese rule, and especially since the growth of the bicycle industry in Taiwan, the bicycle has become less expensive and is now practically indispensable in village life.

CONNECTIONS WITH THE OUTSIDE WORLD

The steadily increasing impingement of the outside world on the village, as well as the concomitant development of extensions beyond the village, make it evident that Hsin Hsing and the other villages of the immediate area are far from being small, isolated units.

Not only are transportation facilities and general means of communication available but they are used regularly by most of the villagers. The general economic and social connections of Hsin Hsing extend far beyond the limits of the village and even the district. Contact with people from other places is quite frequent. The general store in the village has a limited stock of merchandise which is usually overpriced, so the villagers buy only a few necessary items there. On the other hand, men and boys frequently congregate there, especially during the agricultural slack season, to talk and to play chess and other small gambling games. As the site of the village bus stop along the Lukang–Chi Hu road, the store also serves as an important vantage point for the dissemination of news and gossip of the area, since so many people regularly go past by bus or bicycle.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

In Hsin Hsing village, intensive cultivation of vegetables for market sale began with the onion, the red pepper, and then the green pepper. Often, too many farmers planted the same vegetable, its market price dropped, and most of them then switched to another vegetable that promised a good market. Today many farmers carefully watch the market situation and through the radio, or more usually by word of mouth, observe the fluctuations in the price of various vegetables.

A progressive farmer who hears about a new vegetable crop being grown in the area or reads about a new crop in an agricultural magazine like *Harvest Magazine* may then try to learn how to grow the same vegetable by setting aside a small portion of his land for the experiment. Such was the case with the green pepper. It was first planted in Hsin Hsing for market about 1955. By 1958 there were more than eleven farmers marketing it.

In recent years more and more land surface in Hsin Hsing, as well as in the area generally, has been given over to the cultivation of vegetables. One estimate holds that today the Hsin Hsing land devoted to market vegetables is twice what it was eight or nine years ago and still increasing. In fact, a reliable informant estimates that, exclusive of income from labor outside the area, approximately 10 percent of the village income is now derived from marketing vegetables, 70 percent from rice, 10 percent from the mint plant, 5 percent from farm labor, and 5 percent from miscellaneous sources. Such an increase in vegetable cultivation certainly represents a trend toward crop diversification, with the result that now the area is becoming much less the one-crop area (rice) for which it was formerly known.

In addition to farmers who substitute vegetable growing for partial or total rice cultivation on their land, there are a few farmers who grow mint or sugarcane. While the vegetable farmers are men who were forced by climatic or economic necessity to grow alternate crops, the mint and cane growers are men who, by virtue of sufficient land and money, can afford to gamble on reaping a greater profit from the cultivation of an alternate crop. Such men chose to grow mint or sugarcane because they are long-term crops demanding much less labor, time, and energy than is required for vegetable cultivation.

The man who grows mint instead of rice usually has contacts outside of the village. He must be familiar with the menthol oil market, and especially with the local menthol-distilling factories which can distill his mint crop for sale to the dealers. At the same time, he must have enough time to tend to all the details of arranging for the distillation and sale of the menthol. Two of the few villagers in Hsin Hsing who frequently grow mint are former landlords who have many contacts outside the village through politics and business dealings.

The mint plant, planted only once a year, yields four harvests dur-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

the basis of the profits of the Farmers' Association, dividends in the form of towels, soap, or tea sets are regularly given to members.

The members of each village unit of the Farmers' Association elect a "small unit head" who is the Farmers' Association's agent in the village. It is his job to distribute association literature and to notify the members of meetings and classes. It is also his job to record the amount of land for which each farmer wishes to obtain fertilizer from the Food Bureau through the auspices of the Farmers' Association in exchange for rice. Although the unit head used to receive NT $50 a month to cover his expenses, in 1958 the arrangement was changed so that now he receives only the actual office supplies necessary for his job. In each village in Pu Yen Hsiang, the unit head is given a radio by the Farmers' Association for his use as long as he holds the position. He also regularly receives a newspaper, which is an organ of the provincial government, and *Harvest Magazine*.

The members in each village elect one representative for every fifty members to the association's governing body. These representatives in turn elect a supervisor, who then appoints the General Secretary who actually runs the *hsiang* Farmers' Association. The General Secretary is the highest paid employee of the organization and is in charge of the many other paid employees. The main duty of the representatives is to attend the annual meeting of representatives to vote on the yearly program and budget which has been worked out by the General Secretary and his staff.

Today, most of the villagers and employees of the Pu Yen Hsiang Farmers' Association feel that the local units are relatively independent. However, there are Farmers' Associations on the *hsien* and provincial level which are supposed to "teach" and to lead the operation of the local organizations. The local units in turn pay fees to the higher level units. In addition, there is a section in both the *hsien* and provincial government's agricultural departments which deals with farmers' organizations and supervises the operations of the Farmers' Associations. Thus, there is control of the operations of the local Farmers' Associations by these three higher levels. The monthly program, budget, and proposed special programs of the local associations are first discussed in local committee, and then the proposals and budget are sent to the Hsien Farmers' Association for suggestions and to the government agency for approval, changes, or rejection.

Both farmers and staff members of the association generally seem to agree that such guidance and supervision by upper levels of the government is a good thing. It is felt that the supervision of the *hsien* government is grounded in the law and assures the farmer that the programs and large amounts of money handled by the Farmers' Association will be properly administered. However, since the organiza-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

241 654 437 fertilizer merchants at a loss. The merchants then transport it to the area in which that type of fertilizer is in demand; there it is sold in local feed and fertilizer shops at a slightly higher price than at the Farmers' Association.

241 437 65 Large numbers of farmers are affected by the results of their false claims that they will grow rice in their fields in order to be allowed to purchase fertilizer at the Farmers' Association. These false reports also affect government economic statistics. The reports made to the Farmers' Association on the amount of land surface to be planted in rice are one of the important bases used by the provincial government's Food Bureau in estimating the annual Taiwanese rice production. The official rice price mentioned earlier is determined annually by the Food Bureau according to this estimate and then is approved by the Provincial Assembly. However, since so many farmers report an intention to plant more rice than they actually intend to, the estimate regularly tends to be greater than the actual production, and as a consequence the official rice price is usually considerably lower than the market price, which is dependent upon the actual rice supply.

241 437 65 435 The difference between the official and the market prices of rice has a definite and detrimental effect on the farmers. The landowner pays a land tax for paddy land in rice which must be delivered to the Farmers' Association. In addition, the provincial government's Food Bureau requires each farmer to sell a certain amount of rice to the government at the official rice price. The additional amount of rice due is added to the land tax bill, and the farmer receives a cash payment for it at a later date. This amount of rice is directly proportional to the amount of the land tax paid in rice. Thus, for every "14.16 kilograms" (about 23.4 *chin*) of rice paid in land tax, the farmer must sell "12 kilograms" (about 19.8 *chin*) of rice to the government at the official rice price, which may be as low as 70 percent of the market price.

A number of illiterate farmers in the Hsin Hsing area do not realize that they are selling rice to the government at this lower official price. Some of them are under the impression that the money they later receive from the Food Bureau is a rebate due them because they sent in too much rice for their land tax. Apparently, no one has explained the procedure to them.

[204] Regarding this procedure, Ko Kuo-chi, a Provincial Assemblyman, in the January 1, 1958, issue of *Tzu Chih Tsa Chih, Self-Government Magazine*, sharply criticized the government's Food Bureau for the price it had decided to pay the farmers for their rice. He noted that the government was paying the farmer only NT $97.80 per 100 *chin* of rice, while on the market the farmer could obtain NT $130 for the same 100 *chin*.

The government policy has the effect of a virtual attempt to force

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

highly respected. When a letter from a relative in the city arrives, most villagers must go to one of their literate neighbors to have it read. 871 554

Today, most village children do complete primary school. Kuo-Yu (Mandarin) is used almost immediately from the first year, even in the rural primary schools. Primary school graduates and those in the lower grades can therefore speak Mandarin. In addition, because of the increased contacts with urban centers and also with Mandarin speakers in the rural areas, most of the young people retain a speaking knowledge of Mandarin. This holds true even for the majority, who remain in the villages and do not go on to middle school. 872 191

However, the ability to read Chinese characters is frequently not retained for very long. Primary school graduates can usually read simple texts, although much of this material is often memorized. Even those who do fairly well in reading forget characters very quickly unless they go on to middle school or continue to take an interest in reading after graduation. The reading of simple material soon becomes difficult with lack of practice. 212

Unfortunately, the primary schools, whose books and courses of study are furnished by the provincial government, make no attempt to teach the children material which would equip them to read simple agricultural magazines. Consequently, the upper classmen or primary school graduates who try to read *Harvest Magazine*, a useful agricultural magazine for the farm population, have found even this simplified though specialized material frustrating. Most of the young people who do make an attempt soon give up and all too often read almost nothing at all. The end result is that several years after they graduated from primary school, many of these young people are again functionally illiterate. [204]

In Hsin Hsing village only a few primary school graduates go on to junior and finally senior middle school each year. They usually go to a community school in Lukang, since it is located close to the village. Students attending this school can live at home and make the three-mile trip each way by bus or bicycle. During the period of this research, the two Hsin Hsing village girls attending middle school went to the Lukang school, along with three boys from the village. A few other boys attended middle schools near Chang-hua, less than ten miles from the village, and one village boy was studying at a middle school in Taichung about twenty-five miles away. The boys at the Chang-hua and Taichung schools had to live away from home. 873

The Lukang middle school gives a general education; the one near Chang-hua gives specialized training in agriculture; the Taichung school is considered academically superior to the others. All middle schools, however, charge tuition and can be entered only after passing [874]

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien
Taiwan AD6

The City and the Market Town

In the few arcades streets closed to automobiles in the United States and England, one is conscious of the sound of feet on concrete, but in Taipei, even though the wooden clogs of the poor make much more noise than Western leather, one is conscious of voices. Children cry, women gossip, storekeepers greet friends and customers, peddlers inform passers-by of the quality and freshness of their wares, pedi-cab drivers shout warnings to pedestrians about to step in front of them, neighbors discuss the bargains they've found, and not infrequently family quarrels are presented for the world to judge. Winter or summer, day or night, there is always the smell of smoke—coal smoke, charcoal smoke, fuel oil. Often it is delicately embroidered with a thread of incense coming from a family altar in the back of a store or from a small temple tucked down a side alley. The air is heavy with smells, not just smoke, but the oily smells of cooking, the salty smell of drying fish, the sharp tang of pickled vegetables, the elegant smell of sandalwood being fashioned into boxes and furnishings for the rich, and always somewhere in every neighborhood the smell of the "honey-wagon," a slow moving tank cart that goes from house to house to collect "night-soil."

In 1957 my husband and I arrived in Taipei and spent the better part of a year there, studying Mandarin. The following year, the majority of which I was forced to spend in the United States because of the illnesses of my parents, my husband searched the island for a suitable village in which to carry out the anthropological field project that had brought him to Taiwan. I returned not to the noisy, jostling city but to a small, quiet village on the banks of the Tamsui River. In its way of life, Peihotien was far from Taipei; in miles, the distance was not great. With luck and a feeling of urgency, the trip from the Taipei train station to our doorstep could be made in an hour, half by train and half by foot. The train rumbled through Taipei suburbs, a small city, a couple of small market towns, and much open paddy land before it dropped us in the market town of Tapu. Tapu is the buying, selling, repairing, and general servicing town for a number of villages, including the one in which I was to live.

The Tapu train station opens onto a little square; the square in turn opens onto the main street of the town. I have never seen the square completely empty, not even in the heavy rains that break the heat of summer afternoons. There is a man who sells hot noodles from a little cart, another with fresh fruit, another with newspapers and gaudy magazines.

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

majority of elected officials are not really responsible to their constituencies. Although Taiwan is the only territory still under Nationalist control, members representing Taiwan constitute less than three per cent of the Legislative Yuan.[1]

Even to this extent, the village does not really participate in national affairs nor do villagers desire to participate, for national government seems so distant that it is nearly beyond comprehension. While no one in the village thinks he could have any effect on national policy, villagers are directly affected by national government policies in many significant ways. Government policies have had tremendous direct economic effects in areas such as taxation, land reform, etc. There are indirect effects too such as the trade agreements negotiated with Morocco which greatly improved village tea business by opening a major new market. Government policies are increasing educational opportunities. The universal military draft, in addition to providing military and language training, has an indirect effect of delaying marriage for young men usually do not marry until after completing their military obligations. A few villagers read the national news and most hear some news on the radio or television although a radio station that broadcasts little news other than weather and farm prices is most popular.